

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OMB-01 EB-11

AEC-11 AECE-00 OIC-04 DRC-01 /176 W

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P R 280920Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1384

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L VIENNA 0718

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CONVERSATION WITH POLISH REPS,
JANUARY 25, 1974

1. US REP AND DEP REP HAD CONVERSATION WITH POLISH REPS
STRULAK AND WOJTOWICZ ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 25. POLISH
REPS MADE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS:

2.THEY COMPLAINED THAT THE WESTERN PHASE I PROPOSAL DEALT
ONLY WITH US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES. NO CEILING ON OTHER
FORCES WAS PROPOSED.THEREFORE, THE GERMANS AND OTHERS
MIGHT INCREASE THEIR FORCES TO MAKE UP FOR US WITHDRAWALS.

3. THE POLES MUST BE" COVERED" IN ANY AGREEMENT. THEY HAVE
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BUDGETARY MOTIVATIONS FOR DESIRING REDUCTIONS AND

THEY HAVE OTHER REASONS, SOME OF WHICH COULD NOT BE STATED AT THIS TIME. WHEN STRULAK WAS PRESSED AS TO WHAT HE MEANT BY "COVERED", HE SAID ANY AGREEMENT MUST BE SUCH THAT IT DOES NOT RESULT IN POLAND BEING FORCED, "BY OTHERS", TO INCREASE ITS FORCES TO MAKE UP FOR "OTHER WITHDRAWALS". (COMMENT CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN IN DISCUSSING THIS SENSITIVE POINT WITH EASTERN REPS.)

4. POLISH REPS WERE CONCERNED BY THE ABSENCE OF ANY LIMIT ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THEY INDICATED THAT THERE SHOULD BE AT LEAST A CEILING ON THESE WEAPONS EVEN IF NUCLEARS WERE EXCLUDED INsofar AS REDUCTIONS WERE CONCERNED. THEY INDICATED THE EAST WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A CEILING ON ITS NUCLEAR FORCES IF THE WEST DID.

5. POLISH REPS THOUGHT THE WEST WAS NOW SHOWING A MUCH HARDER LINE THAN IN THE SPRING OR FALL. THEY THOUGHT THE WEST EUROPEANS WERE SHOWING AN UNWILLINGNESS TO REDUCE. THEY INSISTED ON ASSURANCE THAT THE BUNDESWHR WILL BE REDUCED AND WHEN.

6. POLISH REPS SAID THEY HAVE NO ARGUMENT AGAINST PARITY AS THE BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT, BUT THEY BELIEVE IN OVERALL PARITY AND NOT IN SINGLING OUT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

7. POLISH REPS SAID IF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS ARE HELD ON BASIS OF WESTERN PROPOSALS, THERE WOULD BE NO REASON FOR PARTICIPATION BY POLAND, SINCE POLISH FORCES WOULD NOT BE REDUCED IN PHASE I, AND SINCE ALLIES PROPOSE SOVIET FORCE REDUCTIONS FROM THE GDR ONLY, SINCE THE TANKS ARMIES ARE LOCATED IN THE GDR.

8. POLISH REPS SAID THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION DURING A RECENT MEETING OF WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS OF AN ALLIED PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL TO FOCUS ON US-SOVIET FORCES. (THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT THEY HAD ANY INFORMATION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT THE WEST MIGHT PROPOSE.) THEY SAID THEY DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF SUCH A PROPOSAL. FIRST, AS STATED, THEY COULD SEE NO REAL ROLE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE DISCUSSION OF A TOPIC SO

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DEFINED. IT WAS ESSENTIAL FROM THE POLISH VIEWPOINT THAT POLES HAVE GROUNDS TO PLAY A FULL ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PARTICIPATE IN RESULTING AGREEMENTS. SECOND, EVEN IF AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS US-SOVIET FORCES WAS SUPPOSED TO BE PROCEDURAL IN NATURE, IT COULD REQUIRE EAST TO GIVE UP IMPORTANT ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE. IF THE EAST WERE TO ENGAGE IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES, IT WOULD BE

FOREGOING THE TWO CARDINAL POINTS OF ITS PROGRAM, INCLUSION OF ALL PARTICIPANTS FROM THE OUTSET, AND INCLUSION OF ALL FORCES FROM THE OUTSET. THEREFORE, ANY INFORMAL DISCUSSION FORMAT WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE POINTS. THERE SHOULD NOT BE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS UNTIL WEST MAKES A SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSION.

9. POLISH REPS BELIEVED THAT THE WEST HAS OFFERED A PROPOSAL WHICH IS PARTICULARLY HARD FOR THEM TO SELL TO THEIR OWN MILITARY BECAUSE OF ITS EXTREME ASYMMETRY OF REDUCTIONS. WEST HAS CHOSEN "THE WORST PRESENTATION IMAGINABLE."

10. POLISH REPS AGAIN AND AGAIN RETURNED TO THEME OF RELUCTANCE OF WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO WESTERN FORCE REDUCTIONS IN MBFR. THEY SAID THAT THE DISTANT AND THEORETICAL WAY THE WESTERN EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING FRG, UK AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES, WERE NOW TALKING ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY MADE THEM COMPLETELY UNRECOGNIZABLE AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SAME GOVERNMENTS WITH WHICH THE POLES HAD BEEN DISCUSSING THE FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS LAST SPRING AND AS RECENTLY AS MID-SUMMER. SOMETHING MUST HAVE HAPPENED IN THE INTERIM TO HAVE CAUSED A POLICY SHIFT OF THIS MAGNITUDE. WHEN THE POLES HAD DISCUSSED THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRG IN MID-SUMMER, THERE HAD NOT BEEN THE SLIGHTEST HESTATION ON PART OF FRG OFFICIALS TO INDICATE THAT THE BUNDESWEHR WOULD BE INCLUDED IN FORCE REDUCTIONS UNDER ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS. NOW, FRG REPRESENTATIVES WERE TALKING AS THOUGH THE POSSIBILITY WERE DISTANT AND PURELY THEORETICAL. RECENT CONVERSATIONS IN LONDON WOULD CRETE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE UK WAS NOT EVEN PARTICIPATING IN THE VIENNA
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